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ABSTRACT

More than 250,000 of Fiji's citizens are descendants of Indian indentured laborers of diverse origins. There are still distinct social groups based on language, religion, and place of origin. However, nearly all Fiji Indians speak one language called Fiji Hindustani. Other languages, such as Gujarati, Panjabi, Tamil, and Telugu, are still spoken, but the last two censuses point to a decreasing use of languages other than Fiji Hindustani. In the past there appears to have been a classic situation of diglossia with Fiji Hindustani used in informal, conversational settings and Khari Boli, the modern Standard Hindi of India, used in formal settings, radio broadcasts, and writing. Today, however, English seems to be displacing Standard Hindi in many areas. Compared with Standard Hindi, Fiji Hindustani has a much reduced morphological system. Also morphology, lexicon, and syntax show the influence of several Eastern Hindi dialects, Pijian, and English. Considering the reduction and convergence of the language in the sociolinguistic climate of Fiji, Fiji Hindustani may be a pidginized language. There are striking similarities between it and Bazaar Hindustani, the bazaar pidgin version of Hindi used in India. It is plausible that Bazaar Hindustani provided the basis for Fiji Hindustani and was later creolized as the indenture system ended. (Author/CLK)

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Fiji Hindustani

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1. Introduction
2. Language use in Fiji
3. Description of Fiji Hindustani
4. Pidginization
5. Bazaar Hindustani
6. Creolization
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1. More than half of Fiji's half million people are of Indian ancestry. Most of the Fiji Indians are descendants of indentured laborers who were brought to Fiji from India from 1879 to 1916. The Indian immigrants were a very diverse group recruited from many areas of India so that in addition to caste and religious differences, there was also great linguistic diversity. North Indians shipped out from the Calcutta depot spoke various Indo-Aryan languages such as Oriya, Bengali, Panjabi, and Hindustani and its many dialects. Later South Indians shipped out from the Madras depot spoke such Dravidian languages as Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam.¹

However, this diversity, so characteristic of India, did not last long in Fiji. From the time the indentured migrants found themselves literally in the same boat on the way to Fiji, they began to eliminate many of their differences. For example, so many caste taboos had to be broken on the crowded ships and on the plantation lines that the caste system was virtually destroyed, with only a vestige remaining in Fiji today. Furthermore, although there are still distinctive social groups based on language, religion, or place of origin, most of Fiji Indians speak one language, called Fiji Hindi or Hindustani or "Fiji Bāt" ('Fiji talk'). The purpose of this paper is to describe Fiji Hindustani (hereafter F.H.) in the context of the overall linguistic situation in Fiji and to make some speculations on its development.

2. The estimated population of Fiji according to race as of mid-1974 is as follows:²

Chinese	4,000
Europeans	3,000
Fijians	245,000
Indians	284,000
Part-Europeans	10,000
Others	<u>14,000</u>
Total	560,000

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There has been very little racial assimilation in Fiji and the racial groups have maintained their distinct identities in terms of customs, food, dress, religion, and language. English, besides being the language of the European and Part-European communities, is the official language of the government and also the language of education and business. However, in their homes and among members of their own groups people use their own group languages. The indigenous Fijians speak the Fijian language and its many dialects (see Schütz 1972). The Chinese speak three different dialects of the Southern Kwangtung province, although English is taking over among the present generation (see Yee 1974). The "Others" group includes Rotumans and other Pacific Islanders, most of whom have maintained their own languages in Fiji. The Indians speak Fiji Hindustani, but in a few instances they speak other languages in their homes. These languages include the various South Indian languages as well as Gujarati and Panjabi, which were brought to Fiji by non-indentured immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s.

2.1 The last two Fiji censuses (1956 and 1966) included a special section for Indians in which they were asked to indicate which of several listed languages was spoken at home. The results, illustrating change in home language over a ten-year period, are shown below in Table I.

TABLE I				
Home Languages of the Indian Community ³				
Language	Number of households		Change	per cent of change
	1956	1966		
Gujarati	830	930	+100	+12.0
Gurmukhi	468	175	-293	-62.6
Hindi	3,644	783	-2,861	-78.5
Malayalam	134	47	-87	-64.9
Tamil	1,498	999	-499	-33.0
Telugu	797	301	-496	-62.2
Urdu	1,223	534	-689	-56.3
Hindustani	17,164	30,726	+13,562	+79.0
Other	90	359	+269	+147.0
Total	25,848	34,854	+9,006	+34.8

Although it is difficult to rely on language data taken from censuses (Lieberson 1966), some apparent trends can be noted. First of all, Hindustani appears to be the home language of a vast majority (87.9%) of the respondents. Secondly, use of languages other than Hindustani appears to be decreasing, with the exception of Gujarati and perhaps English (indicated in the "Other" category). The Gujaratis, latecomers to Fiji living mostly in the urban centers, have best maintained their

separate ethnic and linguistic identity. In contrast to other groups, they have also maintained close contact with India. Furthermore, there are many Gujarati associations within Fiji dedicated to the preservation of their distinct language and culture. Other language groups also have formed similar organizations, such as The Fiji Muslim League (Urdu), the Andhra organization (Telugu), and Sangam (Tamil). Present trends indicate, however, that by the next generation very few households will use languages other than F.H. or English.

2.2 Outside the home, F.H. is almost universally used in informal settings within the Indian community. There are certain settings, however, in which Standard Hindi (hereafter S.H.) or Khari Boli, the standard Hindi of modern India, is used. Very few of the indentured laborers who came to Fiji knew S.H., but after the end of indenture, missionaries and teachers came from India bringing S.H. with them. Later, books and films in S.H. started coming from India. S.H. came to be regarded as the language of the educated in Fiji as it was in India. An example of diglossia (Ferguson 1959) developed, in which F.H. is the native variety and S.H. the superimposed variety. S.H. is used in education, films, newspapers, radio broadcasts, and letter writing and for speaking at any formal occasion, such as a meeting or a wedding. F.H. is used for informal conversation and everyday business.

The names for these two varieties reflect the people's feelings about them. F.H. is known as "broken Hindi" and S.H. as "pure language" (/śudh bhāṣā/). Many educated Fiji Indians consider S.H. as the only real language and deny the existence of F.H., even though they may use it every day. Also, if a foreigner asks to be taught the local language, instruction will be in S.H.⁴

S.H. is very different from F.H. in terms of vocabulary and complexity of grammar (cf. part 3. below) and, therefore, it must be learned by formal education. As in the past, most primary schools today provide vernacular instruction in Hindi (S.H.), Urdu, or Fijian (Bauan dialect). English, however, is the medium of instruction from as early as the first year of school, and English instruction is greatly emphasized while vernacular instruction is often ignored. Thus many educated Indians (and also Fijians) have little knowledge of their formal vernacular and therefore use English to write letters and to speak at formal occasions. They also read only English books and newspapers (see Siegel 1973). For this reason, English is increasingly replacing S.H. in certain domains, and a situation of out-diglossia (Kloss 1966) or modern diglossia (Fishman 1968:45) has developed among S.H., F.H., and English.

The education system is not the only factor involved in the increasing role of English. As the official language of Fiji and as an international language of wider communication, English has greater prestige than S. H. Also, a knowledge of English is necessary to get jobs in government, business, or the tourist industry. Finally, English is considered the national and unifying language for all races in Fiji. Use of English rather than S. H. reflects feelings of nationism, rather than nationalism (Fishman 1968), characteristic of the Fiji Indian community, especially since Fiji's independence in 1970. Because of all these factors, English will probably continue to take over from S. H. in the formal domains.

In the informal domains currently occupied by F. H., the situation is less clear. There is an extremely anglicized variety of F. H. spoken by the urban, educated, mostly young Fiji Indian which is characterized by a high percentage of English loan words used within the F. H. grammatical patterns. Often, though, F. H. utterances are mixed with English utterances, especially for specialized topics, such as biology or mechanics, which are out of the scope of F. H. vocabulary. How far English will intrude into the informal domains remains to be seen. In other places where Indian indentured laborers have gone, such as Trinidad, Indian languages have been replaced by English in both the formal and informal domains (Durbin 1973:1292). In Fiji, however, F. H. remains firmly established as the language of intra-group solidarity.

3. Following is a brief description of F. H. in which contrasts with S. H. are emphasized. This does not mean to imply, however, any direct developmental relationship between the two varieties. As pointed out above, few of Fiji's Indian immigrants spoke S. H. In fact, although they were recruited from all over north and south India, the majority came from the areas which are now eastern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihar. Thus they were probably speakers of the Awadhi, Bagheli, Bhojpuri, and Magahi dialects of Hindustani. Some features of these dialects are present in F. H. and will be pointed out in the following description.

3.1 PHONOLOGY: The phonological system of F. H. is basically the same as that of S. H., with the following exceptions, which may be attributable to the influence of the eastern Hindustani (E. H.) dialects: (1) lack of contrast between /s/ and /š/, /j/ and /z/, /ph/ and /f/, and /b/ and /v/, either of each pair or a sound somewhere between the two being heard; (2) absence of /ŋ/; (3) lack of strict adherence to vowel length, especially in the lack of distinction shown between /i/ and /ī/ and /u/ and /ū/; and (4) /l/ changing to /r/ in many words, for example,

<u>S. H.</u>	<u>F. H.</u>	<u>English</u>
/kambal/	/kambar/	blanket
/kelā/	/kerā/	banana
/gālī/	/gārī/	insult
/nālā/	/nārā/	stream
/naulā/	/naurā/	mongoose
/paidal/	/paidar/	on foot
/patlā/	/patrā/	thin
/bāl/	/bār/	hair
/mačhlī/	/mačhrī/	fish
/haldī/	/hardī/	tumeric

3.2 LEXICON: The lexicon of F. H. points to many sources, but most of it is made up of words found in S. H. or some of the eastern dialects. These words, for example, are clearly of eastern origin: /khassī/ 'goat', /gor/ 'foot', /ghām/ 'sunlight', /nagīč/ 'near', /bistuiyā/ 'lizard', /bhaiyā/ 'brother', /maṭṭī/ 'soil', /mūr/ 'head', /luknā/ 'to hide', and /ākhī/ 'eye'. Use of the S. H. equivalents is extremely rare in common speech.

The following commonly used verbs in F. H. have a very restricted or provincial usage in India: /agornā/ 'to wait', /činhanā/ 'to recognize', /piṛānā/ 'to hurt', /paurṇa/ 'to swim', /bīgnā/ 'to throw', /butnā/ 'to extinguish', /bhījnā/ 'to get wet', /mahaknā/ 'to give off an odor', /sūtnā/ 'to sleep', and /halnā/ 'to go inside'. The same is true of these words: /kaṛā/ 'hard', /kamṭī/ 'less, a little', /gardā/ 'dust', /čokh/ 'sharp', and /čauwā/ 'cattle'.

The following words appear to be unique to F. H.:

<u>F. H.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>possible origin</u>
/kaunčī/	what	/kaun čīz/ 'which thing'
/ghare/	home	S. H. /ghar/ 'house'
/čāhṭā/	mud	E. H. /čāṭā/ 'kind of clay'
/bihān/	tomorrow	E. H. 'early morning'
/sabere/	morning	S. H. /saberā/
/sanjā/	evening	S. H. 'sandhyā/
/jastī/	more, too much	E. H. /jāstī/
/ke waste/	for	E. H. /ke wāste/
/ke sēge/	with	S. H. 'sāg/ 'friendship, association' or /sāgī/ 'companion'

The following words have a changed meaning in S. H. :

<u>F. H.</u>	<u>S. H. or E. H. meaning</u>	<u>F. H. meaning</u>
/ek dam/	suddenly, quickly	completely
/julūm/	tyranny, difficulty	beautiful, fantastic
/pallā/	shutter	door
/fokaṭiyā/	bankrupt	useless
/māgnā/	to demand	to want
/hādī/	clay vessel	pot for cooking
/tītā/	bitter	spicy hot
/khalās/	released, liberated	finished

The lexicon of F. H. also contains a greater number of words of Persian origin than usually found in S. H. Some of these are: /dafa/ 'time', /faisalā/ 'decision', /bawāl/ 'trouble', /muāfik/ 'similar', /muškil/ 'difficult', /rakam/ 'type, kind', and /musibat/ 'difficulty'.

There are also many English borrowings in F. H. for which the S. H. equivalents are almost never used. Some of these are: /āpul/ 'apple', /kantāp/ 'cane top', /kičan/ 'kitchen', /gāḍan/ 'garden', /girās/ 'grass', /gilās/ 'glass', /ṭāim/ 'time', /ṭāun/ 'town', /pen/ 'pen', /farād/ 'friend', /fulāwā/ 'plough', /bākas/ 'box', /bizī/ 'busy', /buk/ 'book', /bulūṭ/ 'bolt', /boṭ/ 'boat', /māk/ 'mark', /mil/ 'mill', /rūm/ 'room', and /sāid/ 'side'.

Other English words have been borrowed into F. H. with changed meanings:

<u>F. H.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>F. H. meaning</u>
/garāūd/	ground	playground
/geṭ/	gate	paddock, corral
/tīčā/	teacher	female teacher
/māstā/	master	male teacher
/moṭar/	motor	automobile
/sākis/	circus	cinema

Many English verbs have also been borrowed into F. H. by putting them into the Hindustani frame of compound verbs using /karnā/ 'to do': /ček karnā/ 'to check', /kik karnā/ 'to kick', /ṭrāl karnā/ 'to try', /paī karnā/ 'to pay', /weṭ karna/ 'to wait', and /sāin karnā/ 'to sign'.

Finally, there are many Fijian loan words in F. H., although the number is far less than that of English loan words. The majority of the Fijian loan words are for local fish and vegetation. Some examples of the more common Fijian loans are as follows:

<u>Fijian</u>	<u>F.H.</u>	<u>English</u>
[ndálo]	/dālo/	taro
[teʔóʔo]	/teboro/	devil, ghost
[kóro]	/koro/	Fijian village
[móto]	/moto/	spear
[kasaʔa]	/kasāvā/	tapioca
[taʔále]	/tabāle/	brother-in-law
[wālu]	/wālu/	kingfish
[ʔési]	/besi/	a hard wood tree (Intsiabijunga)

The following have been borrowed with the Fijian definite article [na]:

[na kái]	/nākāī/	clams
[na ŋgió]	/nāgio/	shark
[na ŋgāri]	/nāgāri/	crabs

3.3 MORPHOLOGY AND CLASSES OF WORDS: NOUNS in F.H. are characterized by (1) absence of gender; (2) lack of inflected plural endings (S.H. /e/, /ē/, and /yā/) and use of /log/ or /logan/ as a post-positional noun of multitude (e.g. /laṛkī log/ 'girls'; and (3) lack of differentiation between the nominative and oblique cases. For most nouns, the nominative singular of S.H. or E.H. is the only form.

ADJECTIVES usually do not change form according to gender, even 'natural gender'--thus, /aččhā aurat/ 'good woman'. The oblique or plural form of the adjective is absent.

NUMERALS: The cardinal numbers in F.H. are the same as those in S.H., except for /duī/ 'two', which is the E.H. form. The use of English numbers, however, is much more common than the use of S.H. numbers, especially for those greater than twenty. In fact there are very few Fiji Indians who know all the Hindustani numbers from one to a hundred.

PRONOUNS: Personal pronouns show the influence of E.H. dialects:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1st person	/ham/	/ham log/
2nd person	/tum/	/tum log/
honorific	/āp/	/āp log/
3rd person	/ī/, /ū/	/ī log/, /ū log/

Oblique forms are /hame/ or /ham ke/, /tume/ or /tum ke/, /āp ke/, /iske/, /uske/, /ham log ke/, /tum log ke/, etc. Possessive forms are /hamār/, /tumār/, /āp ke/, /iske/, /uske/, /ham log ke/, etc. The relative pronoun /jaun/ is also found in E.H. The oblique form is /jis/ but the plural form is absent. The interrogative pronouns are /kaun/ or /ke/ 'who', /kā/ or /kaunčī/ 'what', /kāhē/ or /kāhē ke/ 'why', and /kaisan/ 'what kind of'. Pronominal adjectives are /aisan/

'this kind of' and /waisan/ 'that kind of'. Pronominal adverbs are /hiyā/ 'here' and /huwā/ 'there'. The indefinite pronoun /koi/ is never used in its S.H. oblique form /kisi/. All the preceding pronominal forms point to a E.H. origin, as identical forms exist in one or more of the Awadhi, Bagheli, Magahi, and Bhojpuri dialects.

POSTPOSITIONS: The S.H. postpositions /kā/, /kī/, /ke/, and /ko/ all become /ke/ in F.H. Also /par/ becomes /pe/.

VERBS: The verb system of F.H. is not nearly as complex as the S.H. or E.H. systems, which have separate forms for person, number, and gender. F.H. has one form for both first and second person and generally does not indicate gender and number. Also the ergative past construction does not exist in F.H.

Using the verb /dekhnā/ 'to see' as an example, here are the F.H. verb forms:

Infinitive: /dekhe/

Present habitual and progressive:

1st and 2nd person: /dekhtā/

3rd person: /dekhe/ (the auxiliary /hai/ is absent)

Future: 1st and 2nd person: /dekhegā/

3rd person: /dekhī/

Past: 1st and 2nd person, singular and plural: /dekhā/

3rd person singular: dekhis

3rd person plural: dekhin

Past progressive: /dekhtā rahā/

Present perfect: /dekhā hai/, /dekhis hai/, /dekhin hai/

Past perfect: /dekhā rahā/, /dekhis rahā/, /dekhin rahā/

Imperative: /dekho/ or polite form /dekhnā/

The copula /hai/ is optionally deleted in sentences with equational clauses or adjectival complements. /hai/ is always used, however, as the existential verb. /rahanā/ 'to stay' is used as the existential verb in the past and future tenses; thus, /rahā/ instead of S.H. /thā/. The verb /honā/ is used in the sense of 'to happen' or 'to become' rather than as a substantive verb. Also used is the common dialectal form /bhay/ 'happened'.

Many of these verb forms can be related to various E.H. dialects. The /-is/ and /-in/ third person past tense endings, for example, are found in Awadhi, Bagheli, and Chattisgarhi. The third person future ending /-ī/ is found in Awadhi, Bagheli, Bhojpuri, and Magahi. Use of /rahana/ as the existential verb is also found in some E.H. dialects such as Awadhi (see Grierson 1927).

Remnants of other dialectal forms are often heard in rural areas. For example,

- (1) /ham dekhit/ 'I'm looking.' (Awadhi or Magahi?)
- (2) /ham dekh be naĩ karā/ 'I never saw (it).' (possibly from the Bhojpuri /-be/ past tense ending)

Another unique feature of F.H. is the frequent use of the imperative form /-o/ for the 1st and 2nd person present tense, especially with the verbs /māgna/ 'to want', /jānā/ 'to know', and /sahnā/ 'to be able'. For example,

- (3) /kā māgo/ 'What do you want?'
- (4) /ham sako/ 'I can.'
- (5) /tum naĩ jāno/ 'You don't know.'

3.4 SYNTAX: F.H. tends to leave out pronoun subjects and objects unless they are emphatic. Also the copula /hai/ is often deleted as mentioned above. Furthermore, the generative postposition /ke/ is often deleted, as in /jai ghare/ 'Jai's house'.

With regard to syntax in the sense of word order, F.H. deviates significantly from S.H. and E.H. In S.H. surface structure, embedded sentences, a noun phrase, or other elements of the verb phrase always precede the verb, but in F.H. there is an optional reversal of order:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| (6) /ū tāun jāwe/ | 'He's going to town.' |
| (7) /ū jāwe tāun/ | |
| (8) /ham jāe māgtā/ | 'I want to go.' |
| (9) /ham māgtā jāe/ | |
| (10) /tum dekhe saktā/ | 'You can see.' |
| (11) /tum saktā dekhe/ | |
| (12) /tum sako dekho/ | |

This reversal of word order is most common with the three verbs previously mentioned, which are often used in the imperative form. It is also noteworthy that when the imperative form is used (as in (10) above), the reversal is obligatory. Thus:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| (13) */tum dekho sako/ | 'I want to see.' |
| (14) /ham dekhe māgtā/ | |
| (15) /ham māgtā dekhe/ | |
| (16) /ham māgo dekho/ | |
| (17) */ham dekho māgo/ | |

4. The preceding discussion of F.H. leaves many unanswered questions about its development. For example, what are the historical antecedents of F.H.? Can it be traced back to any one particular dialect of Hindustani? One might hypothesize that F.H. developed from the dialect, perhaps Awadhi, to which it seems most closely related. This is the approach that Durbin (1973:1292) has taken with Trinidad Hindustani, saying that it is a direct descendant of the Bhojpuri dialect. This approach, however, could not account for the degree of admixture of dialectal forms and lexical items found in F.H. Is F.H., then, a koiné, characterized linguistically by incorporation of features from several regional varieties of the same language (Samarin 1971:133)? This approach may account for the admixture, but it would not account for the degree of simplification in F.H. as compared to any Hindustani dialect. Furthermore, neither of these approaches accounts for the definitely non-Hindustani changes in syntax. However, if we look at these three unique linguistic characteristics of F.H. --simplification, admixture, and syntactic change--against the socio-historical background of its use by immigrant plantation laborers of diverse linguistic origins, one process of socio-linguistic change comes to mind: pidginization.

There is no agreement on a precise definition of pidginization, but for the purpose of this discussion, Hymes's broad interpretation will be used: "Pidginization is that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising reduction of inner form with convergence in the context of restriction of use...usually associated with simplification of outer form." (Hymes 1971:84) Looking at F.H. in terms of pidginization, the question of historical antecedents still remains. Which variety (or varieties)⁵ of Hindustani has been pidginized? However, comparing F.H. to any Hindi dialect, all the criteria are met, showing that pidginization occurred sometime in its history.

Simplification in outer form has been illustrated in F.H. in (1) reduction of phonemic contrasts, especially between long and short vowels; (2) failure to show familiar categories of inflection, such as the oblique form; (3) merging of morphological categories in the instance of number and gender⁶; and (4) deletion of the copula in certain constructions (cf. Ferguson 1971:147). Reduction of inner form is more difficult to point out; however, there appears to be a reduced usage of constructions involving embedded sentences and causative verbs.

Convergence is apparent in the lexicon, with words from Hindustani dialects, English, and Fijian--many with changed, expanded, or restricted meaning. Convergence can also be seen in the verb endings from various E.H. dialects and in the pronoun system, which points to diverse E.H. origins. Another convergent change in F.H., probably due to contact with South Indian languages, has also been described by Gumperz and Wilson (1971:159) in their study of Kupwar, India. It is use of the past non-definite instead of compound verbs. For example,

- (18) S.H. /ham pānī le āye/ 'I brought the water.'
 (19) F.H. /ham pānī le ke āyā/
 (20) S.H. /wah lauṭ āyā/ 'He returned.'
 (21) F.H. /ū lauṭ ke āis/

The most significant example of convergence, however, may be in the changes in word order in F.H., which may point to Fijian. These changes will be dealt with later.

With regard to restriction of use, we can look at F.H. in both the past and the present. In the present, F.H. is restricted to use in informal domains and for non-technical topics, as described above. In the past, F.H. had an even more restricted use. It probably first arose as a language for intergroup communication on the ships to Fiji and then was brought to the plantations, where the scope of its use was obviously limited. Samarin (1971:126) describes restriction of use as reduction in the function of language, meaning "a language is used to talk about less topics, or in fewer contexts, to indicate fewer social relations, etc." With the indenture system came plantation life and the intermingling of diverse groups of people, the breakup of traditional family life, long hours of work, and a lack of opportunity to practice customs and religion, all of which reduced the function of language. Furthermore, the breakdown of caste structure probably had a great effect on language. Durbin (1973), in her article on indentured Indian immigrants in Trinidad, describes the reflection of caste hierarchy in Indian languages, the importance of caste dialects, and how the disruption of caste values and fracturing of caste groups affected the language of the Trinidad Indians. The effect on Trinidad Hindustani of the breakdown of the caste system is, interestingly enough, reduction and simplification of the same type found in F.H.

As has already been mentioned, the sociolinguistic climate in Fiji was clearly similar to that of other areas where pidginized languages have developed, such as Hawaii, the Caribbean, and Mauritius, where slaves or indentured laborers of diverse linguistic backgrounds were brought together on plantations. As Whinnom (1971:104) has pointed out, pidgin develops among natives in subordinate positions who do not speak mutually intelligible languages or dialects--for example, Chinese pidgin. In Fiji, however, there was one significant difference. A dominant, usually alien, language such as English or French is generally pidginized, but in Fiji it is not the dominant language, English, which was pidginized but some variety of Hindustani. The important question here is: Why should the situation in Fiji have been different from that in other places? One possible explanation is all the plantation laborers in Fiji were Indians, and for the first twenty years of the indenture system in Fiji they were all North Indians. Thus, most of them spoke not too distantly related languages. The situation was quite different in Hawaii, with Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino laborers, and in the Caribbean, with Africans of diverse backgrounds plus

Indians. But in Whinnom's example of Chinese Pidgin, all are Chinese and speak dialects of Chinese. Another possible explanation, then, is that Fiji Indian immigrants were already familiar with some pidginized form of Hindustani that either came to Fiji or influenced the language which developed in Fiji. As DeCamp (1971:24) has noted: "If a person with even a casual familiarity with any form of pidgin participates in the spontaneous creation of a new pidgin, the resulting language will not be a random improvisation but will inevitably be influenced by the pattern of the pidgin already known." A pidginized form of Hindustani was available to the Indian indentured laborers, and that was Bazaar Hindustani.

5. Bazaar Hindustani (hereafter B.H.) still exists in India today. Kelley (1966:301) reports that "If there is now in India a lingua franca other than the English of the educated elite, it is the bazaar pidgin version of Hindi." Southworth (1971:271) describes B.H. as a modern parallel to the pidginized forms of Indo-Aryan languages used in the past. B.H., he says, is "a reduced form of Hindi/Urdu used mostly by uneducated laborers and tradesmen of various linguistic backgrounds in the modern urban centers of India." A very detailed description of B.H. comes from the Indian linguist S. Chatterji (1972) in an article entitled "Calcutta Hindustani", which first appeared in 1931. Chatterji describes B.H. as a pidgin dialect based on "the ungrammatical Hindustani of the masses, mostly illiterate, of Eastern U.P. and Bihar, already colored by Eastern Hindi and Bihari, and further modified in Bengal under the influence of Bengali vocabulary and idiom. Eastern Hindi and Bihari elements are found in the morphology and vocabulary." (Chatterji 1972:217). He also says that B.H. is characterized by "the absolute minimum of grammatical forms and the absolute minimum of common words of an elementary and non-technical character, and of common idioms and expressions" (Chatterji 1972:217).

Similarities between F.H. and B.H. as described by Chatterji are striking. First of all there is simplification along the same lines: (1) absence of gender (no adjective or verb concord with nouns that are feminine according to 'natural gender'); (2) lack of inflected plural endings; (3) lack of differentiation into nominative and oblique cases; (4) reduced vocabulary; and (5) simplification of the verb system. The B.H. verb system is actually more simplified than that of F.H., having only one form for all persons in present and future tenses (for example, /dekhtā/ and /dekhegā/), the same as the F.H. first and second person forms. Other similarities between F.H. and B.H. are the use of /log/ as the postpositional noun of multitude, and the use of the /-is/ and /-in/ verb endings for third person past. Finally, the B.H. pronoun system is almost identical to that of F.H.

It is possible, then, that B.H. provided the basis for, or at least had a strong influence on, F.H. Furthermore, Chatterji wrote, "Groups of people are growing up, whose home language and sometimes whose only language is this jargon or Bazaar Hindustani--in the bustee slums of Calcutta,

in the coolie lines in our jute mill areas, in the railway labourers' lines, in the convict settlements in the Andaman Islands, and among the Indian emigrants in Fiji, Trinidad and British Guiana, and elsewhere" (Chatterji 1972:218). Other examples of a regional lingua franca or trade language becoming the native language of a group of people are rare but not non-existent. The most obvious is Bahasa Indonesia. Also there is Sango (Samarin 1967:17). And perhaps even Hindi/Urdu (S.H.) may have developed from an earlier form of Bazaar Hindustani (Das Gupta and Gumperz 1968:156). If the nativized lingua franca or trade language happens to be a pidginized language, as B.F. appears to be, then the traditional definition of a creole language as a nativized pidgin comes to mind.

6. Creolization has been defined by Hymes as "that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising expansion in inner form, with convergence, in the context of extension in use. A creole is the result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a norm... The starting point of creolization need not be a pidgin, but may be a pre-pidgin continuum, or a subordinated language-variety of some other sort" (Hymes 1971:84). Creolization is also usually associated with complication in outer form. In discussing F.H. in terms of Hymes's definition of creolization, we can point out expansion, complication, convergence, and extension of use. Also, if we accept B.H. as the starting point for F.H., it is irrelevant whether or not B.H. is regarded as a pidgin; it is enough to say it is a subordinated language-variety.

If B.H. was brought to Fiji, the context of its extension of use is obvious. The restrictive nature of plantation life during the indenture period has been pointed out above. As indenture ended and the Indian laborers moved out from the plantations, the contexts in which the language could be used of course increased. Also, children born on the plantations were surely exposed to B.H. and for many it became their first language. The expansion and complication that resulted from this extension of use is most obvious in the lexicon verb endings. Sango went through a similar process: "Vernacular Sango, one of the dialects of the Ngbandi complex, at one time came to be used as a lingua franca. Because of this use it was very much simplified and to some extent transformed in structure. Not having the grammatical means of enriching itself, Sango has borrowed extensively from other languages" (Samarin 1967:17). The large number of loan words from English and Fijian can be seen in F.H. Also many words were probably taken from S.H. when missionaries and teachers started coming to Fiji from India after the end of the indenture system. Complication is also evident in the additional verb endings borrowed from various B.H. dialects which are used in the third person forms of the present and future tenses. B.H., it will be remembered, uses one form for the present and future. Finally, it may be that the causative and embedded sentence constructions present in F.H. today are results of expansion of inner form, but this is difficult to substantiate.

Convergence, of course, is associated with the expansion and complication just described. The convergence with South Indian languages in use of the past non-definite has also been described in part 3. The most striking example of convergence, however, comes in the syntactic changes found in F.H. These changes seem to point to convergence with the Fijian language. Examples of these changes are given above in numbers (7), (9), (11), (12), (15), and (16). Compare the word order with that of Fijian:

(9) /ham māgtā jāe/
[au sa fia láko]
I want go

(11) /tum saktā dekhe/
(12) /tum sako dekho/ or /sako tum dekho/
[o řáwa ni řáiōa] [e řáwa ni ko řáiōa]
you can see can you see

7. How these syntactic changes came about is a fundamental question in the study of pidginized and creolized languages. A look at how Fijian may have affected F.H. may throw some light on the matter.

There exists in the rural areas of Fiji where Fijians and Indians live in close proximity a contact vernacular based on F.H. which may be classified as a pidgin. It is used for communication between Fijians and Indians who are usually not well-educated. (Those with a lot of formal education would probably use English.) There also exists a contact vernacular based on Fijian, or rather several contact vernaculars based on different Fijian dialects. The contact vernacular based on F.H. does not have a name (although here I will call it Pidgin Fiji Hindustani, P.F.H.) but it has these standard characteristics: (1) Fijians using P.F.H. use basically the Fijian phonological system, ignoring the aspirated and palatal consonants of F.H. and breaking up the consonant clusters. Indians, however, generally do not change their pronunciation. In terms of morphology, word order, and vocabulary, P.F.H. is the same for both Fijians and Indians. (2) All verbs end in /-o/ (the imperative form of F.H. Tense is indicated by context and adverbs of time as in Fijian. (3) /baitho/ 'sit' is used instead of /hai/ in existential clauses. (4) Fijian word order is used, as in the above examples. (5) Typically Fijian constructions are used such as:

(22) F.H. /(ham) khānā khā liā/
I food ate

'I finished eating.'

(23) P.F.H. /(ham) khāo khalās/
Fijian [au sa kána óti]
I eat finished

P.F.H. differs from other "secondary languages" such as cocoliche (Whinnom 1971:97) and hapa haole (Reinecke 1967) in that, with the exception of pronunciation, both groups speak it in the same way. Thus, there is secondary interference--F.H. speakers speak F.H. to Fijians in the Fijian style, that is, in P.F.H. Also, F.H. has no greater social status than Fijian and the Indians have no overwhelming majority; thus, Fijians have no motivation for improved performance in F.H. In fact, there is probably more motivation for not learning F.H. Fijians (and also Indians) try to maintain their distinct cultural identities and, thus, Fijians probably do not want to overstep the linguistic boundaries that separate the communities. Therefore, Fijians are content to speak only the Fijian style of F.H. and a stable norm has developed. There is not a wide range of competence in "correct" F.H. phonology and grammar for Fijian speakers of P.F.H. Thus, because of the grammatical reduction of P.F.H., the secondary interference, the lack of motivation for improved performance among substrate speakers, and the stabilization as a norm, I have called P.F.H. a pidgin.⁷

Another theory in pidgin-creole studies, now generally dismissed as unfounded, is that of baby-talk (DeCamp 1971:19) or foreigner talk (Ferguson 1971:144). According to this theory, P.F.H. would have arisen from Fiji Indians simplifying their speech in talking to Fijians and Fijians merely imitating this simplified speech. In the case of P.F.H., however, this seems unlikely. First of all, Fijian word order is used. Secondly, F.H. speakers in simplifying the verb would have used a present tense form or simply the verb root rather than the imperative ending. How the /-o/ ending came to be used in P.F.H. is an interesting question. The /-o/ ending fits well into the Fijian pattern of (C)V(C)V(C)V. Also it is possible that the Fijians first heard Hindustani as spoken by the overseers to the "coolies" on the plantations--mostly giving commands.⁸ Finally, the use of /baitho/ 'sit' as the existential verb very probably comes from a direct translation of the Fijian word [ndambéda] which means both 'to live in a place' and 'to sit'.

No matter what the origins of P.F.H., however, its creolizing influence on F.H. is quite evident in changes in word order and in use of the imperative form in certain present tense constructions. Some speakers of F.H. in intragroup communication use the imperative endings more frequently than others, and some even use /baitho/ instead of /hai/ in existential clauses. Other more educated speakers of F.H., however, might use many forms closer to S.H. Still others might use English or a large number of English words within F.H. Thus, it appears that F.H. is under pressure from three directions: creolization from P.F.H., decreolization from S.H., and "anglicization" from English.

NOTES

1. For a detailed description of the indenture system in Fiji and the areas in India from which indentured laborers were recruited, see Gillion (1962).

2. Figures are from Current Economic Statistics, January, 1975, published by the Bureau of Statistics, Suva, Fiji.

3. Figures are from Report on the Census of Population, 1956, (Government of Fiji Legislative Council Paper No. 8 of 1958, Government Press, Suva) and Report on the Census of Population, 1966 (Government of Fiji Legislative Council Paper No. 1 of 1968, Government Press, Suva). Gurmukhi in the census refers to the Panjabi language, although it usually refers to the script of Panjabi rather than the language itself. In Fiji, the terms Hindi and Hindustani are generally used interchangeably. In actuality, however, Hindi usually refers to the literary standard with loan words and Persian loan words filtered out and replaced by Sanskrit borrowings. Hindustani usually refers to the colloquially spoken form of both Hindi and Urdu.

4. This attitude is illustrated in this statement from the Final Report of the U.S. Peace Corps Fiji I training project, John M. Ross training site, Ninole Hawaii, October 22, 1967 to January 15, 1968:

The Fiji Indian instructors... convinced the language co-ordinator that it would be most desirable to teach a form of "Standard" Hindi, modified somewhat to include vocabulary and idioms used in Fiji, rather than to teach some more colloquial form of Hindi spoken in Fiji.

Arguments:

- 1) Volunteers would be expected to be well-educated and to talk properly.
- 2) Even in the simplest business meetings, all Fiji Indians aspire to speak "Standard" Hindi. All speeches are made in "Standard" Hindi.

5. It is possible that several varieties become pidginized simultaneously and the end result is a koiné. However, as Samarin has pointed out, "What kinds and degrees of pidginization occur in koinés still remain to be determined" (Samarin 1971:135).

6. It is true that the complicated gender system of Western Hindi is not present in Eastern Hindi. However, even in Eastern Hindi there is usually adjectival and verbal concord with nouns, according to natural gender. This is not true of F. H.

7. The situation in Fiji with P. F. H. seems to contradict Whinnom's observation that "it may well be that no simple bilingual situation ever gives rise to a pidgin" (Whinnom 1971:104). However, it is not clear whether the situation in Fiji is a "simple bilingual" one.

3. An interesting question here is: What kind of Hindustani did the overseers use on the plantations? Was it F.H. or S.H. or P.F.H. or some other variety (O.H.?)? Unfortunately, there is no record, but it is known that many overseers did know Hindustani. In fact, many had been to India before coming to Fiji. Also, many Fiji Indians believe that F.H. developed so that the indentured laborers could communicate with their bosses.

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